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have a share in freeing the world of oppression and cruelty is an undertaking worthy of America. With malice toward none and with good-will to all, we may see to it that in every land the principles of democracy and humanity are dominant. As our President has pointed out: we have no ends to serve but the good of mankind, but, if the adventure is successful, America will have a commanding influence and will rejoice eternally in having done her part.

PLANNING THE FUTURE AMERICA

BY HENRY A. WISE WOOD,
New York.

One of the chief faults of our happy-go-lucky America is its complete absorption in affairs of the moment. It lives wholly in the present, thinking little of its past and not at all of its future.

A huge, good-humored, industrious but untrained multitude, it wanders contentedly along without thought of a destination. Having neither a consummate leader, nor a chart, nor a goal, its pain and its pleasure are almost the sole directors of its course.

If things go well, it believes itself to be upon the right path; if they go ill, its members rush hither and thither in pained confusion until a more comfortable path is found, when it moves off along that course with no eventual objective in view.

When the guiding force of a people is compounded of the thought of all of its members, that people must necessarily move and develop by a succession of loosely related experimental steps. A people must grope or be led. Democracies usually grope, with occasional periods during which, having fallen under the influence of men of foresight and strength, they are directed along preconceived routes towards clearly defined objectives.

There are times when a people have become so preoccupied by their local affairs that they are deaf to suggestion, however beneficial, which calls for a change of thought and action. In such a state of inertia were the American people at the beginning of the present war, and until the aggressions of Germany grew to be intolerable. There are other times when a people, having been aroused out of intellectual lethargy into a state of acute cerebration, are mentally mobile and

may easily be led into new paths, if those paths meet with their approbation. In such a state of intellectual fluidity are the American people at the present time.

A critical moment, therefore, in the life of the nation is at hand, a moment during which the nation will change its mind; during which it will abandon old and embrace new purposes and choose a new pathway into the future.

This then is the opportunity of the dreamer of dreams; of the man of vision who believes he can serve his country by pointing out to it the highway to a great national destiny. To such a man time is as nothing, obstacles are as nothing, the labor, the sweat, the pain of the builders are as nothing. To him the goal, the goal only, is reality. That end achieved, and he knows the memories of the struggle will grow golden and become the traditional glories of the nation.

Need an American be ashamed to confess that he wishes his country to become the great empire of the twentieth century, democracy's greatest empire? That he covets for it a power great as was that of Rome, beneficent as is that of the British Empire, youthful, creative, and altruistic as is that of buoyant America? That he believes this end may be achieved, not by the acquisition of additional territory, not at the cost of his nation's friends among peoples, but at their gain by rendering the world such service as the world never has had?

In the United States we have the largest group of educated members of the white race to be found anywhere in the world. They constitute the only great two-ocean nation and are astride the temperate zone; they are industrious, ingenious, enterprising. They possess an aptitude for the farm, the forest, and the mine, the laboratory, the factory, and the sea, and occupy a territory rich in every natural resource. They are peace loving and benevolent.

What shall such a people do with their future? Shall they permit it to develop haphazard; shall they advance without plan or direction to an unforeseen destination? Shall they not, instead, determine their future, make of it a carefully thought out enterprise, and create and organize the means necessary for its accomplishment, as a definite national undertaking?

Being among those who believe that the future should be the

result of design, not of chance, I make bold to point out what in some respects I believe to be America's future place among nations.

America has long been one of the world's greatest producers of foods and raw materials. This advantage we must not surrender; we must not permit our growing industries and increasing tendency towards urban life to lead us to curtail our output of natural products. On the contrary, we must strive by better methods of cultivation, conservation, replenishment and working, to increase vastly the output of our natural substances, and to reduce their cost in the world's markets.

Having at hand the necessary raw materials, a populace unequalled in ingenuity, of high technical skill in the arts and easily taught new processes of manufacture; having a home market so vast that standardization becomes possible to an extent not possible elsewhere, and having the world's largest accumulation of free capital, there lacks nothing but the undertaking of the project to make of our country the foremost workshop of the world.

This we may easily do if we but set our industrial house in order, if we but hasten to learn and apply to our needs the lessons of class coöperation that the warring nations are teaching us, and turn our government into a great industrial warder and schoolmaster. The industrial armies of the other peoples have been drained by the war, and for more than a generation will be without the vigor that once was theirs. We shall be required to supplement their efforts, and supply to their own peoples and to the other peoples who have depended upon them that which they no longer will be capable of producing. If we but grasp these, our opportunities, we shall become the world's foremost manufacturing nation.

We must recover our maritime supremacy, and become the world's chief sea carrier. Once again must the American flag be the flag oftenest seen upon the waters of the earth. During the year 1914 only 9.8 per cent of our foreign trade was carried in American bottoms; in 1830 it was 90.3 per cent. It is inconceivable that we should not instantly abandon the policies which have been making for our maritime suicide, and adopt others which will restore to us our birthright of sea use, which we have so recklessly tossed into the laps of other nations. The sea strength of Germany against which we are now so lavishly building in self-defense was largely paid for by ourselves.

Germany's profits upon the sea carriage of our own goods and people have built her merchant fleets, have helped to develop her shipyards, and have gone far towards the creation of her only-second-to-Great Britain's naval power. We are now rendering a similar service for Japan. To carry our own exports, imports, and passengers, whether in the Atlantic or Pacific, must henceforth be our inexorable purpose. American ships for Americans and their goods, this must be our slogan.

In order to become the world's foremost manufacturers and merchants, we must become the world's chief bankers. Where foreign enterprises may borrow, there will they trade. The American banker and American salesman must go abroad hand in hand. We must assist and encourage them as the pioneers of the new world-drawn industrial life into the enjoyment of which America is about to enter.

The nation's surplus capital must be set to work for the nation wherever beyond the seas good returns in interest and trade are forthcoming. And selected youth must be especially trained for the handling of America's banking and commercial interests abroad, trained in the languages, manners and customs, tastes and prejudices, of all foreign peoples. For this work there should be created a great national institution, subsidized by the government, with training field stations in all countries. Such an institution could provide us also with consuls, so that trained Americans would replace our untrained consuls, many of whom are of foreign citizenship and their loyalty not always to be depended upon. Thus we shall be made able to satisfy at our profit the needs of all nations, and draw an ever increasing income from the industry of other peoples.

In planning the future it must not be overlooked that security is an essential condition of over-world trade, the security of the individual American and of his property. Unless the pioneers of American commerce be safe in life, money, and goods their enterprises are but houses of straw, subject to the cupidity or passion of those in whose midst they are.

Under insecure conditions American over-world trade can neither take firm root, nor prosper. Therefore, if we wish to create a great world-serving industrial democracy we must lay down and inexorably maintain the principle that wherever an American hap-

pens rightfully to be there his government will insist upon the security of his life and property. The injury of an American upon the high seas or abroad must once more become the concern of all our people, and be resented by all our people with all their might.

We must accept and vigorously act upon the age old saying: Fast bind, safe find. We now see that no nation can carry the commerce of the world in one hand and an empty blunderbus in the other. That commerce can no more be safeguarded by treaties than can a treasure by a copy of the Eighth Commandment pasted upon the door of the vault which holds it. We now know that no one but the well-intentioned respects treaty or commandment; that the ill-intentioned respects only superior power. We therefore must hold superior power. We must be respected not only because of our intellectual and material usefulness to our neighbor nations but also because of our ability, our readiness, and our determination, everywhere and upon every occasion, to support with force if need be the rights even of the humblest of our people, be those rights assailed by a nation little or big. The aegis of America must protect the American, as did that of Rome, the Roman. Upon no other terms can a nation win either the respect or the trade of the world. We must have both.

GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

MACHINISTS AS PEACEMAKERS

BY ARTHUR E. HOLDER,

Legislative Representative, American Federation of Labor.

This great national question that we are face to face with is one that the laboring men of the United States are meeting calmly, but with supreme confidence. We are neither pacifists nor jingoes, and we don't propose to become hysterical. We are going to do what we can to coöperate with our neighbors, whether they be capitalists or scholars, to mobilize the good-will of all our people, to mobilize our genius, our skill, and every variety of service we may be expected to render. We realize that those who come under the broad class of "labor," will suffer most from the human sacrifice.